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ABSTRACT

Operation Hospitality was a program started 4 years ago to bus children from all black inner city parochial schools to all white parochial schools, largely suburban. The first phase of an overall evaluation of the program involved the attitudes of the participating student populations. The second aspect of evaluation which was planned involved an evaluation of teacher attitudes in the participating schools. This was interrupted in the light of a more immediate expressed need. Several messages were coming from principals and pastors in the black sending-schools indicating their black communities did not want the busing to continue. As a result of these concerns it was decided to study parents' attitudes, both those participating and those not participating in the program to determine how they felt about it and its values to black children. The total sample was 93 parents with children in Operation Hospitality and 56 parents with no children in Operation Hospitality. The data was collected using personal interviews. The interviewers were all black; four women and one man who lived in the inner city or taught in inner-city parochial schools. Experienced research analysts read the interviews and described the significant patterns of attitudes and feelings and sought answers to the research questions. (Author/JM)

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Final Report

Project No. 1-E-002
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"CHANGE IN SELF-PERCEPTION AND RACIAL ATTITUDE AS A RESULT OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM"

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

I - Introduction

School integration in the U. S. represents a profound long-range social change for the communities which are immediately affected and for the nation as a whole. Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision affecting de jure segregation, a number of cross currents have ebbed and flowed in communities faced with problems of school segregation.

A. General Problem

The evolution of the concept of "busing" as a technique for increasing the probability of equal educational opportunity for black and other minority youth has two rather distinct sources. The first (which has lost some of its popularity in recent months) revolves about the role of the school as a dynamic force in the acculturation process. It views the strength of the society as an outgrowth of its ability to absorb divergent, even conflicting traditions and force a "mainstream" which can be "owned" by all segments. With the repeated failure of the white educational establishment to demonstrate the viability of this concept and the growing sense of alienation between white and black traditions, this basic premise has been seriously questioned especially by the black community.

The second source for interest in busing is a more practical one. Research of the ghetto school child reveals limited output, as measured in terms of achievement, mental ability or social adaptation. Even beyond this, the impact of effects in the areas of enrichment and intensive compensatory programs has provided little basis for the hope that the relatively easy solutions such as smaller classes, better teachers, new

facilities, revised curricula or combinations of these will correct the problem. The attempt to "guild the ghetto" does not take into account the more pronounced effect on the achievement of ghetto children -- that of social-class composition. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights report, Appendices, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Govmt. Printing Office, 1967), states:

> While the racial composition of a school often has a negligible effect, often on the achievement of both Negro and white students, the social-class composition has a much more pronounced effect on the achievement of Negroes than on whites...segregation has more substantial long-run than short-run effects."

In other words, "busing" is an intervention which faces up to the evidence about the overwhelming burden which faces the neighborhood school in the ghetto. Busing is here viewed as an attempt designed to enhance the performance of ghetto youngsters.

In spite of actions taken by the Justice Department and some White House aides on the school desegregation guidelines, the evidence still demands serious study:

a) Perhaps the most striking element in the limited available information is the consistently favorable response of all who have been associated with integration projects: educators, pupils, Negro parents, research personnel and, to a large extent, white parents. Opposition tends to come from sources, varied as they be -- from white conservative newspaper columnists to black militant leaders -- who have little if any direct contact with the programs.

b) Evidence of greater motivation for educational development can be interpreted from such items as attendance records, dropout rates, and teacher ratings.

c) There is no evidence to support claims of psychological trauma among participants in busing programs nor is there evidence that they become alienated from their own community. In fact, the evidence available is in contradiction to both of these fears.

d) There is no evidence that the quality of academic achievement among white pupils is depressed by placing educationally disadvantaged black children in their class. Again, the existing evidence points in the opposite direction.

e) Black pupils bused into white elementary schools are quickly assimilated socially and appear to hold their own in the area of peer group relationships. This finding holds in spite of the fact that the children are alert to signs of prejudice among some students and staff members.

f) Pupils transported to white schools show significant gains in achievement and mental ability scores when compared with their own prior performance (Boston, Hartford, Berkeley) or when compared with a comparable control group (Hartford).

g) Observer ratings and films illustrate a consistent difference in the classroom climate and teacher-child interaction between inner city and suburban classrooms. It appears the difference is not easily modified by introducing changes into the ghetto school.

h) There are signs which suggest that busing is a more effective intervention in the primary grades than is the case later on.

These conclusions based as they are on interim materials (Mahan, "Project Concern", and "Metco"; Johnson, "White Plains Racial Balance Plan") make a strong case for the effectiveness of busing as a means for moving toward equal educational opportunity.

Compulsory de-segregation vs voluntary de-segregation

Studies have been undertaken to assess systematically the solution to de facto segregation by compulsory means (Ann Arbor, Public Schools Research Dept., The Berkeley Plan, etc.) but the research on voluntary busing programs is scant. (See "Los Angeles: Private Integration of Public Schools," Art. Seidenbaum, Integrated Education, Nov.-Dec., 1968.

B. Problem of Busing in Large Cities with Clearly Segregated Housing Patterns

1. Clearly, busing is logistically a problem where large tracts of housing for blacks are geographically located in one large center core causing a bus ride of one hour or so to reach a "white area".

2. Busing in a city whose population of blacks exceeds fifty percent involves unique problems.

3. The Problem of Resources -- Big City school systems are poor. The amount spent on educating a child in the ghettos of big cities is far less than that spent on the suburban child. This poverty leads to old, inadequate and poorly maintained buildings, a shortage

of equipment and materials (although ESEA funding has changed this somewhat), a shortage of staff, and inability to pay for new programs and innovative ideas.

School integration in the U. S. still looms largely threatening in most school communities which are immediately affected and for the nation as a whole facing these changing times.

The evolution of the concept of busing as a technique for increasing the probability of equal educational opportunity has lately taken a turn in national and the local Chicago scene which prompted this research.

Increasing demands are heard from minority groups in our communities that they be given resources to build up their own communities and shape educational endeavors to further their efforts toward cohesion.

Because the Catholic School Board is committed to serve according to parents' enunciated needs and desires, the decision to continue or phase out busing had to be based largely on parents' wishes. Therefore, the Superintendent commissioned an overall evaluation of the program, Operation Hospitality, our voluntary busing program in operation since 1967.

The first phase of the evaluative process involved the participating student populations. The effect of the busing as expressed in the attitudes the children had toward themselves and one another showed positive results: an increase in positive images, attitudes, and behaviors toward one another, as well as an academic achievement which remained constant. (O. E. Small Research Grant, received in 1970 completed this aspect of the evaluation of the program.)

The second aspect of evaluation which was planned involved an evaluation of teacher attitudes in the participating schools; a series of workshops in black identity, intergroup techniques, etc., was planned to measure the effect of the training on teachers facing day to day intergroup problems.

This second phase was interrupted in the light of a more immediate expressed need. Several messages, at times conflicting, were coming from principals and pastors in the black sending-schools indicating their black communities did not want the busing program to continue.

As a result of these concerns it was decided to study black parents' attitudes, both those participating and those not participating in our busing program to determine how they felt about Operation Hospitality* and its values to black children. The present O. E. Small Research Grants which made possible this report constitutes the second phase of our overall evaluation of the program. (O. E. Small Research Grant, 1971.)

A further study of suburban parents' attitudes is projected for 1972-73 and is presently in the stage of application for funding.

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*Operation Hospitablity was a program started four years ago to bus children from all black inner city parochial schools to all white parochial schools largely suburban. It was believed that racial suspicions and friction would be ameliorated by having children of both races in schools together.

THE RESEARCH PLAN

The research was designed to cover a sample of all parents with children in Operation Hospitality and a sample of parents not participating but with children in the sending schools. These parents were to be interviewed by black interviewers.

METHODS

The data was collected using personal interviews. The interviewers followed interview guides designed to explore the important areas of attitudes and experiences. The parents were encouraged to talk at length and the interviewers tried to write down their statements in full. There was a separate guide for parents of children in the program and for the parents living in the same neighborhood and with children in the parochial schools.

Experienced research analysts read the interviews and described the significant patterns of attitudes and feelings and sought answers to the research questions. The conclusions drawn are summed up and illustrated with quotations from the interviews. Two researchers studied the interviews and reviewed their conclusions.

The interviewers were all black; four women and one man who lived in the inner city or taught in inner-city parochial schools. They were familiar with the neighborhoods and at ease in talking with the parents. They were under the supervision of a young black man who is principal of a parochial school.

THE SAMPLE

The total sample was:

93 parents with children in Operation Hospitality,

56 parents with no children in Operation Hospitality.

The sample was drawn starting from lists of names and addresses provided by the schools, covering all children enrolled in the schools and all in Operation Hospitality. From the Operation Hospitality lists random samples of parents' names and addresses were drawn and assigned to the interviewers. The sample of Operation Hospitality parents consisted of almost half of the actual universe and all who were available for interviewing in that period.

The non-Operation Hospitality families were selected from school parent lists in a random manner from the same neighborhoods as the Operation Hospitality families. This procedure gave a good matching sample in terms of neighborhood environment.

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

	OH Families	Non-OH Families
AGE		
20 to 29	1	9
30 to 39	41	25
40 to 49	47	17
50 +	4	3
No response	4	2
TOTAL	97	56
NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT HOME		
One	22	11
Two	29	12
Three	25	16
Four	8	11
Five plus	13	6
TOTAL	97	56
NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN OH		
One	76	
Two	13	
Three	5	
Four	3	
TOTAL	97	
THE SENDING SCHOOLS		
Presentation		
St. Agatha		
St. Ambrose		
St. Brendon		
Our Lady of Lourdes		
Our Lady of Sorrows		
St. Michael		
St. Mel		

II - THE FINDINGS

It is useful to put the views about Operation Hospitality in the context of parental goals for their children and views of the relevance of the neighborhood conditions and local schools for their goals. To do this, parents were asked about their hopes for their children's future: how well schools are serving their needs, etc. From this we see areas of general agreement between the two groups.

Their goals for their children.

Few have any very concrete or long-range plans for their children. Some say, "I want him to be a doctor or lawyer," but these are few. About half speak of wanting children to get higher education but rarely speak of college for a specific career. The general tone is one of hoping children will do well in life and education, even college education will help them. But even when they talk of college there is the general underlying theme that the child must decide.

> "I'd like her to get a good college education, keep good religious practices, and choose herself a good field. I'd like her to participate in community activities, not militant but just a decent woman."
> (Woman, 40, Non-OH)*

> "I hope they will be whatever they want. I want them to get all the education possible. I stress and push college."
> (Woman, 36, Non-OH)

*Each quotation is identified as: sex, age, and participant or non-participant in Operation Hospitality.

"I'd like him to be a man. Get a college education and be what he wants to be. If he's a gambler and satisfied, then that's what I want."
(Woman, 28, Non-OH)

"I want him to do whatever he wants to do in life. I hope he will go to college."
(Woman, 42 - OH)

"Independent and more out on their own. I want them to become doctors or lawyers, but none show any interest."
(Man, 40, OH)

Most parents do not even express as concrete a goal as a college education. They hope their youngsters will earn good livings, be happy and be good citizens. However, most see education as essential, and college leads to good jobs.

"Whatever they make up their minds to be, I just want them to finish school."
(Woman, 30, OH)

"I want them all to get a good education and be whatever they want to."
(Woman, 40, OH)

"Well, I just hope they get a high school education. After that I guess it's up to them."
(Woman, 37, OH)

"I want him to get a good job and have a successful life."
(Man, 38, Non-OH)

"They can be whatever they want to be as long as they are good at it."
(Woman, 25, Non-OH)

Clearly, these are not parents who seek to control the child's future, not to mold him into what they think he should be. Neither are they likely to put excessive emphasis on performance in school, though they speak proudly of a child who is getting good grades.

In general, they can be described as having modest and probably realistic ambitions for their children and will be very proud when any child manages to achieve professional or business success.

Also, there is a general theme of support for their children. The child must choose his course and they will do all they can to support him in it. They do not see themselves as able to choose and direct the child's career but as backing him and helping him to the extent they are able. Thus, they see themselves in a supportive rather than directive role.

> "I want him to do whatever he wants in life. I will stand behind him in whatever he wants."
> (Woman, 38, OH)

Their views of schools.

In talking about what makes a good school these parents generally talk about facilities, equipment, materials and class size. These are visible realities which they see as evidence of quality. (In this they are no different from suburban parents whose evaluation of schools is highly influenced by the modernity of facilities.)

Their general logic is that wealthy communities spend more money on schools, have better facilities and programs and therefore, better education.

When asked about suburban parochial schools and schools in their neighborhood, they express a hierarchy of quality.

Best -- suburban parochial schools

Next best -- inner-city parochial schools

Poorest -- inner-city public schools

In no case, in a spontaneous comparison, did a parent rate a neighborhood public school better than the neighborhood parochial schools. There was widespread consensus that white parochial schools have better facilities and equipment and more extensive programs than do the inner city public schools.

When asked to compare, parents not participating in Operation Hospitality said:

"In general, white schools have more equipment than we have. I also feel they get things in white areas we don't get. Books are more up-to-date and more intellectual activities. I feel the white child is ahead and it's so planned that they stay that way."
(Woman, 30, Non-OH)

"I really don't know but maybe they are because the white schools probably get more money than the black schools."
(Woman, 47, Non-OH)

"I don't know if they are better but the schools are not crowded. The white schools probably have advantages because they have more money to give the child a quality education."
(Man, 36, Non-OH)

When Operation Hospitality parents were asked to compare neighborhood schools with the others, they generally thought the white schools superior. Also, some commented that the neighborhood parochial schools were going down in quality.

> "The new school is great. It has everything. The old school was good but it has gone down in the last few years."
> (Woman, 43, OH)

> "The new school is great with everything a school should have. The old school is good but the parish is poor and the school needs a lot of things."
> (Woman, 40, OH)

> "Basically, the schools are the same. The only difference is the new parish is richer. They can buy all the equipment necessary to have a good school."
> (Woman, 37, OH)

> "There is a big, big difference, the main one being that the suburban classroom is not as crowded as our neighborhood classrooms. The children are able to receive more attention from the teacher."
> (Woman, 35, OH)

There was also expressed the belief that standards were higher in the suburban schools. They expected more, and students had to work harder to get good grades.

> "I think that grades are not as easy to come by in the suburban schools as they are here in the neighborhood school."
> (Man, 37, OH)

"They are strict when it comes to homework. They expect them to do more. One of the teachers showed interest in my child as if it were her child."

Thus, there is the general belief that suburban white schools will be better than inner-city schools in terms of financial support, equipment, and programs, and to some extent higher standards of performance. This is a general belief and the experience of the Operation Hospitality families tends to reinforce it.

When talking about the local parochial schools there are a mixture of positive and negative attitudes. Many of the non-Operation Hospitality parents speak highly of the local parochial schools. Others say the parochial schools are deterioating badly.

Those praising their local schools generally refer to quality of teachers or how well the children are doing. When they mention facilities and materials it is usually negative.

"At least the schools are trying to give the children a good education, but I don't think they are doing their best. I think the Catholic schools are doing a lot better than the public schools."
(Woman, 39, Non-OH)

"It's an excellent school, one of the best inner-city grammar schools. I think most of the teachers are very dedicated and very good with the kids."
(Woman, 37, Non-OH)

"It's a pretty good school especially now. They have newer equipment and a really good reading program which was needed and a very good math program. The teachers are mostly very good and dedicated people."
(Woman, 30, Non-OH)

"I think the school is beautiful. The children learned more this year than in past years."
(Woman, 34, Non-OH)

One of the strengths of the local parochial schools and in sharp contrast to the public schools is the relation of teachers to students and parents. These teachers are interested in the children and make efforts to keep in touch with parents.

Eighty-six percent agreed with the statement:

"Teachers in our parochial schools are good with kids."

With some there is serious concern that the inner city parochial schools are in trouble and that this quality of education is declining. Some express concern over the lack of well-trained and concerned nuns and their replacement by lay teachers. Others feel that with declining support for the parochial schools they must cut back on supplies and programs.

"We are in such trouble there is no comparison between the schools. The neighborhood school seems to be in a period of faculty breakdown and the Hospitality schools are more stable."
(Woman, 34, OH)

"Well, I think one time our school was superior, now it's good but declining gradually."
(Woman, 45, Non-OH)

"The public schools might as well be closed for what they are doing in this area. And our Catholic school is going way down. Children there are not getting much of anything. Sisters there were concerned and qualified. It's different with lay teachers."
(Woman, 50, Non-OH)

"There's so much trouble at our parochial school. Our schools are not what they should be."
(Woman, 35, OH)

"In our black Catholic schools I think the kids are missing a lot. They are not getting much more than the Board of Education is giving free. You have to pay for it and somebody just don't care.
(Woman, 35, OH)

To sum up, we find that the parents, in their hopes for their children, see education as the concrete goal to look to. Without at least a high school education, there is little chance for a satisfactory and successful future. Yet, they feel the public schools are not providing the education needed, and their only choice is the local parochial school.

Into this setting comes Operation Hospitality opening opportunity for a few to go to where there is quality education; the white parochial schools -- mostly suburban.

Let us now examine the reactions to this and the issues involved.

The introduction to the parents.

The parents learned about the program in many ways: in church, at school meetings, in the papers, etc. In many instances the opportunity was offered to specific students by the school principal. Often the parent also consulted with the child's teacher or their pastor who encouraged them to take the opportunity. Clearly, many felt their child was receiving special recognition. Even to have the principal call them about it (and in some cases the pastor), was something special. Some believe the child was chosen because of high test scores.

> "He was tested at the school and he scored very high and the teacher contacted me. When I understood what was involved, I decided to let him go."
> (Woman, 42, OH)

> "The priest from the church called and asked us to let him go."
> (Woman, 60, OH)

The explanations of the program all apparently emphasized advantages of different educational opportunities for the child, and association with a broader world and especially with whites. In some cases, it was represented as serving special needs of the child. There was probably ready acceptance of the idea of an opportunity and pride in their child's selection for the opportunity.

> "I learned of it through the priest and teachers. The priest told me he would do much better at St._____. They have a better program, better equipment, and new books. The teachers encouraged me to let him go. My son needs more of a challenge than the school could give him."
> (Woman, 37, OH)

"I heard from the pastor. I felt the children might get a better education."
(Woman, 43, OH)

How do they feel about it now?

The parents generally feel that their children have done satisfactorily in the white school. Some mention a period of adjustment but claim their children are now doing well. They definitely feel the children are getting a better education.

"After getting adapted to school he seems to come out about even. I hope he does better this year."
(Woman, 29, OH)

"They are doing average work. When they started they dropped a little but now they are back to what they were doing before."
(Woman, 40, OH)

"I think she is doing much better now in Operation Hospitality than before."
(Woman, 43, OH)

"She is doing excellently. She has more interest. There is a larger challenge."
(Woman, 32, OH)

"I've seen progress. They get the best out of him. In a more crowded classroom the teacher wasn't able to give him individual attention."
(Woman, 35, OH)

"She's doing fine. At first she didn't do too well, but we pushed her and now she's fine."
(Woman, 48, OH)

Few seem to have seen any dramatic changes in their children's school performance but even so, they are convinced they are getting a broader and better education.

When asked if they ever considered withdrawing the child from Operation Hospitality or would want to have other children in it, the parents were positive in their approval and plans to continue.

> "It has improved my children all around. It offers them more challenge; a better outlook on the black and white situation. No, I never considered taking them out. If I had other children I would like for them to be a part of the program because of the many advantages."
> (Woman, 38, OH)

When they talk about the advantages of the program they stress:

1. Better facilities and materials and broader programs.
2. Smaller classes and more individual attention.
3. Broader social experience, including association with white classmates.
4. More challenge academically.

The emphasis on better facilities and equipment and less-crowded classrooms is to many a tangible indicator of better education. However, the belief that white schools have higher academic standards and expect more of children is seen as a challenge to which the child responds. And to some it puts them on a par with white children.

"They have been getting a better education than before. Less children in class and more time given to a child. My kid will get an education that the white kids are getting."
(Woman, 43, OH)

"The school has more courses to offer and he is exposed to the competition of a different race."
(Woman, 29, OH)

"The school is more challenging and has harder studies. It has more facilities and equipment. It has widened his interests."
(Woman, 42, OH)

"It has more subjects, more equipment and activities, especially sports. The foster parent who is responsible for the child is a tremendous help, both while the child is at the school and when he returns home."
(Woman, 40, OH)

The belief in the value of mixing with white or "other races" is often expressed. Many believe it is good for black children to have white friends and to know how to get along with whites. This is a widespread belief among both groups of parents interviewed.

"He has a chance to learn what suburban life is like. Mixing with children of other races is good for him."
(Woman, 35, OH)

When asked directly if it's good for black children to have white friends, half of each group of parents agreed. However, it was only the Operation Hospitality parents who spontaneously emphasized this value in having their children in suburban schools. The other parents talked about a better education in suburban schools.

Barriers to participation.

The non-Operation Hospitality parents, when asked about sending their children to suburban schools, generally expressed inconvenience in having the child travel so far and the desire to have them close to home where they could keep an eye on them and keep contact with the schools. There is also some anxiety over sending their children so far from home into a white community. Though seldom voiced, this may be a latent concern.

> "I prefer a school in the neighborhood because I can visit periodically, so I can check on progress. I'm investing money and I like to check on them."
> (Woman, 36, Non-OH)

> "I wouldn't want my child in the program. There are still prejudiced people and it might be more experimenting than learning, for the student."
> (Man, 36, Non-OH)

> "In the neighborhood. The suburb is too far. I can visit here in this area. I wouldn't want my child in Operation Hospitality. It's too far and dangerous to travel."
> (Woman, 40, Non-OH)

> "(Would you prefer a school in the suburb?) "Yes, not because they are white, but for the equipment and materials. Blacks and whites together cause competiton, therefore, the black students do better."
> (Woman, 40, Non-OH)

> "I prefer a school in the neighborhood. My children don't have to go to the suburbs just to mix with white kids."
> (Woman, 42, Non-OH)

"I feel there is danger in allowing a child to go to a white school."
(Woman, 32, Non-OH)

"I would like for my children to go to school in the suburbs but I wouldn't want them bused. It's too dangerous."
(Woman, 28, Non-OH)

"If I send my son to the suburbs he would get more of a brainwashed education. It might be pretty good in some cases for the future, but I'd have to think about it."
(Man, 38, Non-OH)

The emphasis on having the child at school nearby and where the parents can keep in touch with the school, suggests both the reality of maintaining a close relationship with the school, probably combined with anxiety about letting the child wander far and into the unknown world of white suburbs. Apparently this barrier was overcome by the reassurances of schools and pastors and by the process of bringing the child into the school with a white parent's sponsorship and attention. Furthermore, often the child wanted to go, which helped convince the parent the venture should be taken.

In only a few cases was there concern over possible loss of black identity. There is some expression of resentment that they can't have good schools in their own neighborhoods.

"At one time I knew a child went to a white school and wanted to be white."
(Woman, 25, Non-OH)

"I wouldn't want my child to be in Operation Hospitality. Why shouldn't they have the same types of education here."
(Woman, 36, Non-OH)

"I feel the Negroes are busing their children just to mix with white kids. I feel my children can get an education in this neighborhood."
(Woman, 42, Non-OH)

How did the child adjust?

These parents report few episodes of friction with white children and many assert the children get along well with the other children and have white friends. However, there were extensive statements to the effect that the children at first had trouble adjusting to the new demands of classroom performance, that their grades dropped for a time.

"They had a few run-ins with other children at the new school but no major problem. When they entered the program they feel behind but now have picked up."
(Woman, 43, OH)

"He's doing better. He had been a slow student but now he's improving."
(Woman, 31, OH)

"He is catching up with the others. He was behind at first. At the old school he was getting A's and B's and dropped to C's and D's. Now he is moving up."
(Woman, 32, OH)

In general, parents see no drastic change in school performance, those who were doing well before are doing well now; those who were average are still average. There are occasional cases of real change when students have had problems before and now improve under special attention. However, there is the general belief that the students work harder and learn more.

The busing itself is something of a problem. The children must get up early and get home late. Also, there are a few complaints of lack of discipline and control on the buses, but nothing serious enough was reported.

How do students adjust in their home neighborhood?

The parents claim the children have retained their friends and are still participating in the neighborhood. The time needed for busing means the child is home late and has little time for neighborhood friends except on weekends. There are a few who claim they never allowed their children to roam the neighborhood and these children still have little or no neighborhood activities.

Is there jealousy among neighbors?

Since the selection of a child in the program is a form of recognition there is a question as to whether this creates friction and jealousy between Operation Hospitality parents and non-parents. However, when asked about how other parents feel about the program, there were only occasional hints of envy or discord.

There seems to be little discussion of the program among neighbors. Many of both groups claim to have little contact with families in the neighborhood. Non-participating parents usually claim not to know any in the program.

"I have talked to only one parent. She agrees it is a good idea. I do not associate with too many people in the neighborhood."
(Woman, 29, OH)

"The ones I have talked to feel it is a good idea. They would like for their children to be in the busing program."
(Woman, 37, OH)

"No one has said anything to me. I am not that friendly with my neighbors. I don't know if they have ever heard of it."
(Woman, 40, OH)

"My daughter knows children in Operation Hospitality but I don't."
(Woman, 47, Non-OH)

"I heard about it from some members at church. They seem to like it."
(Woman, 43, Non-OH)

III - CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

From this study certain conclusions can be drawn which are relevant to Operation Hospitality and to the inner-city parochial schools.

1. There is widespread belief that the black inner-city schools offer poorer educational opportunities than do the white suburban parochial schools. There is the pervasive belief that the suburban schools have more money to spend and, therefore, have better facilities and programs.

2. Many parents welcome the opportunity to give their children what they believe to be the better educational opportunities of suburban schools. ("Better" measured in terms of the physical materials in the school.)

3. Many parents believe that their children benefit by being in schools with white children. Clearly, they are not thinking of <u>any</u> whites (such as poor Appalachians) but of basically middle-class suburban whites with good schools and good standards. They feel the association with whites in schools means a much broader as well as better education. They feel their children need to have experience in a biracial society while growing up.

4. For those <u>mainly</u> interested in academic skills and knowledge, the neighborhood school would suffice if it were comparable in physical set-up, materials and programs, as are in the suburban schools. Others, expressing the broadening of experience would still choose to transport their children for this one purpose: interaction in diversity.

5. Most parents are satisfied with their local parochial schools and even if Operation Hospitality were open to all a majority would probably not participate. The concern over busing, of spending so much time in travel, is part of the reasoning. Probably a vague anxiety about sending the child so far into an unknown situation is very prevalent. There is also expressed the fear of being out of touch with the school and the child. Thus, the child would be going into a distant, strange, and possibly threatening situation beyond the immediate protection of the parent.

   In some cases careful steps were taken to reduce the parent concerns. This involved consultations with parents, arranging for sponsoring white families, exchange of visits, etc. All these efforts were very reassuring.

   Clearly, an arbitrary busing program without efforts to welcome the children and reassure the parents would be very disturbing to both.

6. There is a widespread assumption that schools with more money, better facilities and equipment and broader programs give a better education. This is a common American assumption about schools and education which, in the more affluent communities, has made it possible to get funds for more elaborate schools.

When inner-city parents speak more specifically of accomplishments of the local parochial schools they will refer to good reading and math programs, concerned teachers, and good parent-teacher relations. This suggests that continued effort for parent contact and participation and stress on fundamental skills is important to the parent.